



SENATOR ARLEN SPECTER PENNSYLVANIA

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Arlen Specter Speaks

The Escalating Situation in Iraq

President Bush has performed magnificently in his orchestration of support for his plans on Iraq. He originally stated that he did not need Congressional approval for war and recently has made a wise decision to include Congress in the debate. The Commander-in-Chief has power to act in a time of emergency. But if there is time for deliberation, debate, and decision then it's a matter for Congress - under the Constitution.

The President's speech to the United Nations was very strong and I think he is wise to seek an international coalition as his father did in the Gulf War in 1991. President Bush is correct in saying that the obligations for inspections belongs to the United Nations, and I think

there is a budding consensus that if Saddam Hussein does not fulfill his obligations to the U.N. then a use of force will be authorized.

When Iraqi officials say that they have no weapons of mass destruction, it raises a natural question. Why have they stonewalled and why did they kick the inspectors out in 1998 if they have nothing to hide? We have heard what they have to say. Let's send our inspectors in with unlimited rights to go anywhere they want, anytime they want, to see anything they want and let's see what the Iraqi response is. If we can find out what they have, and are satisfied - after a thorough investigation - that there are no weapons of mass destruction, everybody would be relieved. But their conduct

suggests the contrary.

My town meetings conducted last month persuaded me that Pennsylvanians are very worried about a preemptive war. We have never started a war. Of course we're in a different world now after 9/11, and we can't sit back and let someone like Bin Laden attack us again.

On September 30, I conducted a



Senators Specter, Santorum, and Congressman Murtha attend a bill signing which would create a memorial for the flight crew and passengers of flight 93 that crashed in Shanksville, PA.

The Need to A Pass Homeland Security Bill

I believe it is vital to move ahead with the Homeland Security Bill in order to correct major deficiencies in the intelligence agencies of the United States which have been disclosed in the wake of September 11. We had a veritable blueprint, prior to September 11, 2001, and if we had connected all of the dots, I think the chances were good that we could have avoided the attacks that took so many lives. The Congress of the

United States and the Administration have a duty, a solemn duty, to do everything in our power to prevent another terrorist attack. We lost thousands of Americans and the official word from the Administration, articulated by a number of ranking executive department officials, is that there will be another terrorist attack. It is not a matter of if, it is not a matter of whether, it is a matter of where or when.

I am not prepared to accept that conclusion. I believe the United States has the intelligence resources and can muster the intelligence resources to prevent another September 11.

When I served as Chairman of the Intelligence Committee in the 104th Congress, I introduced legislation which would have brought all of the intelligence agencies under one umbrella agency. There have

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September 11, Flight 93 Ceremony

Senator Santorum and I attended the memorial services in Shanksville, PA, commemorating the downing of Flight 93. It was truly an inspirational and emotional event. The families of the victims and the crew of Flight 93 were seated front and center, surrounded by a large crowd of supporters.

Gov. Mark Schweiker, spoke, as did former Gov. Tom Ridge, now the Homeland Security Director. There was not a dry eye in the entire assemblage. The message delivered by Governor Schweiker and Governor Ridge was a moment of remembrance, a moment of commemoration, and a moment of hope for the future, with a determination that a united America will repel terrorists wherever terrorists exist, and that the struggle for freedom will be maintained and will be won.

Ms. Sandy Dahl, wife of pilot Jason Dahl, made an emotional speech and later came down and sat right next to where I was sitting, holding her infant daughter, Michaela, who will be 2 at the end of September. It was quite a poignant picture of the widow, grieving for what happened a year ago today, but holding her child and looking forward to the future. The child was smiling, and so was Mrs. Dahl, looking

at her infant daughter.

It is my hope that the Congress will yet act on legislation which has been introduced to grant Congressional Gold Medals to the forty passengers and crew of flight 93. As I moved through the



assembled ladies and gentlemen who were families of the victims, and spoke to them and heard of their grief, the common thread was moving ahead. They thanked us for the legislation authorizing the creation of a national memorial at Shanksville, but they also asked that our legislation for the Congressional Gold Medals be completed.

The family of Georgine Rose Corrigan presented me with a button with three ribbons: red, white, and blue. These buttons and photos were worn by so many - virtually all of the families of the victims who were in attendance.

Recently, I spoke on the floor of the Senate and said that I would ask unanimous consent for the consideration of Senate Bill 1434, which would grant the Congressional Gold Medal posthumously to the victims of flight 93. It has 69 cosponsors. This bill should have been moved out of committee a long time ago. I have taken it up with the appropriate Senators to get it moved, and it has not moved because of the interest of some in expanding it to cover other victims - the firefighters, the police, and others.

I certainly think it would be appropriate to grant recognition to all of those people. However, I think the victims of Flight 93 are in a special category because they saved the Capitol. It is my hope that the Congress will yet act on legislation which has been introduced to grant the Congressional Gold Medal. I will continue to push for it.

An Independent 9-11 Commission

After a good deal of consideration I have decided to support an independent commission to analyze what went wrong on 9-11. After September 11, it seemed to me that the matter was better handled by the intelligence committees. I made that judgment based on my own experience as Chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee back in the 104th Congress.

But the intelligence committees in the House and Senate should have started hearings a long time ago. After some classified material was apparently leaked by one of the committees, the intelligence committees agreed to be investigated by FBI, as opposed to bringing in outside counsel - as the

Senate did when leaks occurred in the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings. It seemed to me at that point that it was really hopeless for them to get

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their job done on the issue of September 11, and I took the unusual step of writing to the Chairman and Vice Chairman of the intelligence committees for both the House and Senate urging that they not have an FBI investigation.

The principle of separation of powers in my view is very important. You simply can't have the FBI investigating the Congress, and have the Congress properly conduct its oversight process of the FBI.

Now that it is plain that the Intelligence Committees will not be able to finish up their investigation by the end of this year, I think an independent commission has to be put together especially as more and more facts are coming to light indicating that 9-11 could have been prevented. An independent commission is the right thing to do.

Homeland Security *(continued)*

been repeated efforts to accomplish that, not just the legislation I introduced in 1996. There is on the President's desk a plan submitted by former National Security Adviser, General Brent Scowcroft, to accomplish a coordination of all intelligence agencies. However, it has not been done because of the turf battles between the various intelligence agencies. Those turf battles regrettably are endemic and epidemic in Washington, DC.

We now have a mechanism - the Homeland Security Bill, to make those corrections. We knew prior to September 11, from the FBI Phoenix memorandum, about men taking flight training who had big pictures of Osama bin Laden in their rooms. The report was disregarded. We knew prior to September 11 that there were two terrorists in Kuala Lumpur. The CIA knew about it,

but did not tell the FBI or INS, and they turned out to be two of the hijackers on September 11.

We also know from the efforts made by the Minneapolis Office of the FBI to

get a warrant under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act as to Zacarias Moussaoui, who had information regarding al-Qaida's intention.

Then we have the famous, or infamous, report coming to the National Security Agency on September 10 about an attack the very next day, which was not translated.

Our job is plain, it seems to me, and that is to move ahead on the Homeland Security Bill. We have to let our enemies--the terrorists and Saddam Hussein--know that we will not be unprepared in the future.

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Drought Relief for Farmers

In September the Senate passed a bill which would provide \$5.9 billion of disaster relief to farmers who have suffered crop losses in 2001 and 2002 due to natural disaster - including drought.

I voted for the special aid for a couple of reasons. Most fundamentally, because so many American farmers, including the farmers of Pennsylvania, are being driven off their farms due to a lack of rainfall.

Fifty-four of Pennsylvania's sixty-seven counties have suffered tremendous

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dously in the drought, leading Governor Schwieker to ask the President for an emergency declaration.

The dairy farmers had been especially hard hit, but so have the fruit growers. I think we just have to support our farmers. I am concerned that had nothing been done to assist Pennsylvania and other United States farmers, they would lose their livelihood.

Iraq *(continued)*

town meeting in Lebanon. When I asked for a show of hands of how many people favored going into Iraq with a coalition from the United Nations, about 75-80% of the hands went up. Maybe 20-25% said no when I asked for their hands. Then I asked how many people favored going it alone if we needed to. About 1/3 of the hands went up. About 2/3rds of the people were opposed to it.

Senator Santorum and I have discussed the President's resolution regarding Iraq and it is an evolving process. I think Senator Santorum is correct that Senator Daschle is being very political in much of what has been

undertaken. I went to the Senate floor this week and said the Senate was dysfunctional, and gave specific reasons why I think so. I have been very critical

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of the Democratic leadership on this issue. I think ultimately how we will come out on the resolution for war

against Iraq will depend upon precisely how it is structured and framed. We are going to have hearings on it.

The President has sent a revised resolution to Congress asking for authority to use military force against Iraq if Saddam Hussein continues to refuse to open up for inspections in accordance with his commitments to the United Nations. This is an improvement over the first resolution that was sent to the Congress, which was very broad. The current resolution appears to limit actions to Iraq, but there are still questions that need to be answered.

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The Sudan Model for Weapons Inspections

On a trip to Sudan in mid-August, Senator Richard Shelby (R- Ala.) and I learned about "visits" to Sudan's weapons factories and laboratories by U.S. intelligence agents which could provide a model for UN inspections in Iraq.

Sudan's President, Omar el-Bashier, told us his country was very anxious to improve relations with the U.S. with a view to ultimately getting off the terrorist list. In addition to promising to stop persecuting Christians, Sudan is allowing U.S. agents unlimited, unannounced visits to any location, to break locks, inspect and photograph. Our agents told us they are confident that Sudan is not developing weapons of mass destruction at any of these installations.

Obviously, the situations between Iraq and Sudan are very different, so many questions would have to be answered. The first question is whether Saddam Hussein will ever honor his commitment to the UN to permit such inspections. Last April, Secretary General Kofi Annan told me of his frustrations in dealing with Saddam's "cat and mouse" game. First, Saddam stalls, then his people say yes with qualifications, then another Iraqi official says no and meanwhile Saddam is free to do what he pleases.

Since the U.S. downplays such inspections, there isn't much push to get them done. While it is true that no inspection regime can guard against factories or laboratories we don't know about, visits on the Su-

dan model would go a long way. Then there is the doubt about whether the Bush Administration really wants inspections since they might delay a planned attack, and they doubt their value.

Now that the President has emphasized his patience and has said there are no imminent plans for military action, why not use the available time to push for and pursue inspections? Who knows, they might work. A very high level expert in the U.S. intelligence community told me unrestricted, surprise inspections could provide adequate information on what Iraq is doing on WMD at those locations.

As President Bush has escalated the rhetoric for regime change, even his customary Republican allies have joined the international chorus in raising questions and insisting that that he makes his case for congressional authority to go to war against Iraq. General Brent Scowcroft, Senator Richard Lugar (R - Ind.), Jack Kemp and even columnist Robert Novak represent a strong conservative base in urging caution, restraint and even no action.

Former Secretary of State James Baker has proposed a UN Resolution calling for the use of force to compel Saddam to honor his 1991 commitments to permit inspections. That could provide the basis for an international military coalition if the Security Council agrees and Iraq continues to resist. If the UN does not adopt the Baker idea, it gives the U.S. a strong reason to unilaterally enforce Iraq's inspection commit-

ments if the UN won't.

In order to make the case for military action, President Bush will have to deal with other tough issues such as the cost in casualties, who will replace Saddam and what will be the repercussions in the region and beyond. But if Saddam continues to turn away inspectors, this will raise the common sense conclusion that he has something to hide like weapons of mass destruction. And as the risk looms large that Saddam is continuing to develop such weapons, those issues will be subordinated to avoiding another September 11th or worse.



Senator Specter stands with Terrell Pharr at a "Project 2000 Inc." event in September. At this event "Project 2000" honored Senator Specter for his "Commitment to the Academic Achievement of African-American children."